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tnuva

The Egyptian
movie scene

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AGENT
IN BEIRUT

Page 4

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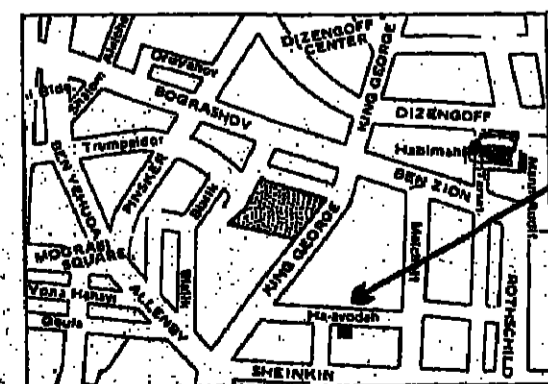
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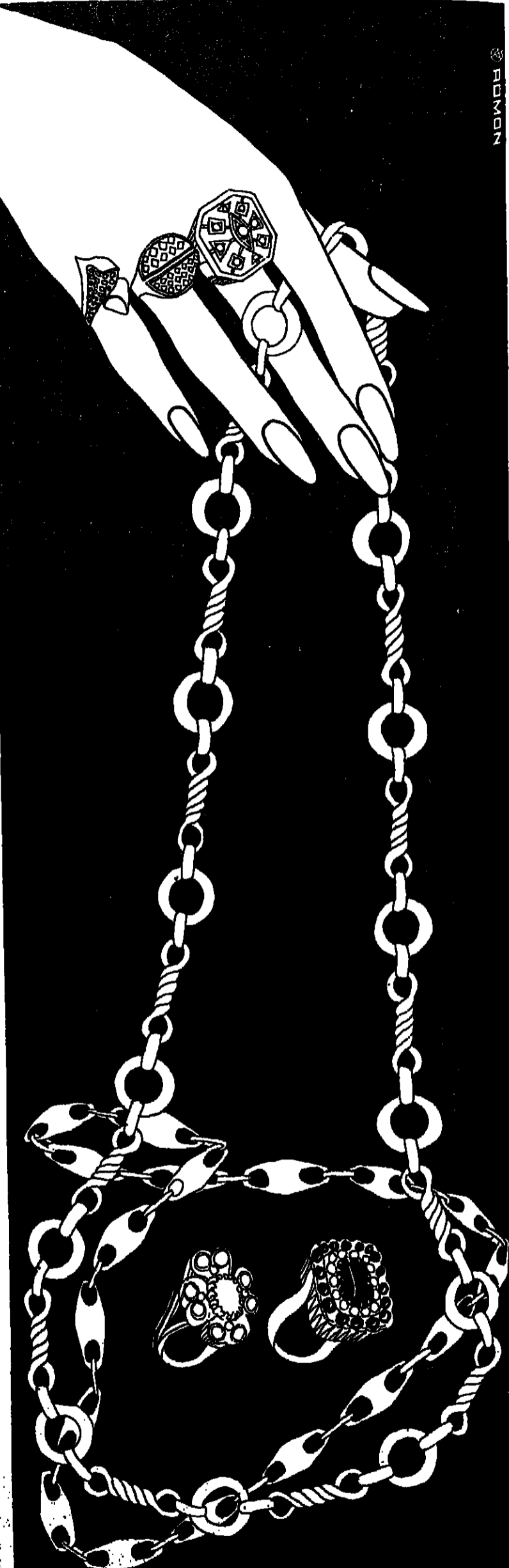
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OFIR-TAL
Jewelry



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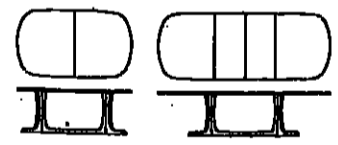
On the cover: Detail from an Egyptian movie poster.

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Twelve years after she was released from prison in Beirut, Shula Cohen is now free to talk about some of her activities as an Israeli spy in Lebanon.
YISHAI TOBIN reports.

AGENT IN BEIRUT

well be that this uneventful existence inspired Shula's espionage career; the stories she heard about her younger sister's underground activities for the Hagana certainly had an effect on her.

Shula's own activities began one afternoon while looking out her window into the courtyard of Beirut's Magen Abraham synagogue. Leaders of the Macabees youth movement were trying to teach songs from *Eretz Yisrael* to a group of children. Shula volunteered to teach the Hebrew songs she remembered from her own youth movement days in Jerusalem and to help prepare special programmes for the holidays.

She quickly learned that these sports and cultural activities were merely a front for the formation of a local Jewish self-defence force. Later, during the Lebanese struggle for independence prior to World War II, the group was to join forces with the Christian Phalanges being formed at that time.

Shula was active in all the movement's legal and illegal activities and was soon to become prominent in the general Jewish community as well. As one of its representatives, she was to meet and gain the respect of other community leaders of Beirut, such as Camille Chamoun and Pierre Jemayel.

IT WAS AFTER the war that, on a chance visit to her husband's shop, Shula happened to overhear some villagers from the south discussing preparations to counteract the creation of a Jewish state. Shula realized that the information could be crucial for the Yishuv and devised a plan with her husband to have one of his regular clients smuggle a letter to an imaginary aunt in Jerusalem.

Shula used her ingenuity to conceal the important strategic details in this seemingly innocent letter, hoping that it would be understood and passed on to the proper authorities. No more than a week elapsed and Shula's daring and resourcefulness, which were later to save her life on countless occasions, bore fruit. The response from the other side of the border made it very clear that Shula's intuitions were correct; the information proved to be vital and contact was established.

Shula's self-confidence was boosted immensely and she now used her contacts with the non-Jewish community to gather more valuable information. The various channels she used were "similar to those one sees in the movies," she says.

Her cloak-and-dagger career, however, began in earnest in 1947. While pregnant with her sixth child, she made her way across the border in the middle of the night with the aid of an Arab smuggler. Shula was then taken to a "certain" office in a "specific" city where she met with the "proper" authorities and delivered information on the political, economic and social situation in Lebanon. She was then given instructions about the scope of her activities and the code names of certain contacts in Beirut and in a "certain European capital."

THERE ARE VERY few details which Shula, the ever cautious professional, is willing to reveal. She will admit that she did not work alone; that she received all her orders directly from Israel, and that she had no immediate superior in Beirut. She says she was very



(Alisa Auerbach)

times in her career she had Jews, Moslems and Christians working for her. Shula was always in charge.

Through the years Shula managed to penetrate both the Christian and the Moslem underworld, and to establish contacts with important officials in Lebanese government offices (and apparently in the military establishment), and all of this as a woman living in an insulated Jewish ghetto within a conservative Arab society. Needless to say, Shula was frequently criticized within the ghetto society for breaking rigid social conventions designed to keep women at home. On several occasions Shula incurred the wrath of neighbours for her activities, which they believed could have had dangerous consequences for the entire community. This was particularly true when she smuggled her three eldest children into Israel (between 1948 and 1958) and urged other Jews to do the same.

The nature of Shula's activities was guessed at by her family, especially when she would disappear for days and return with letters and souvenirs from their

brothers and sister in Jerusalem. Although the four younger children laughingly referred to their flat as the local office of the Israeli intelligence services, they know better than to mention anything of their mother's activities outside of their home.

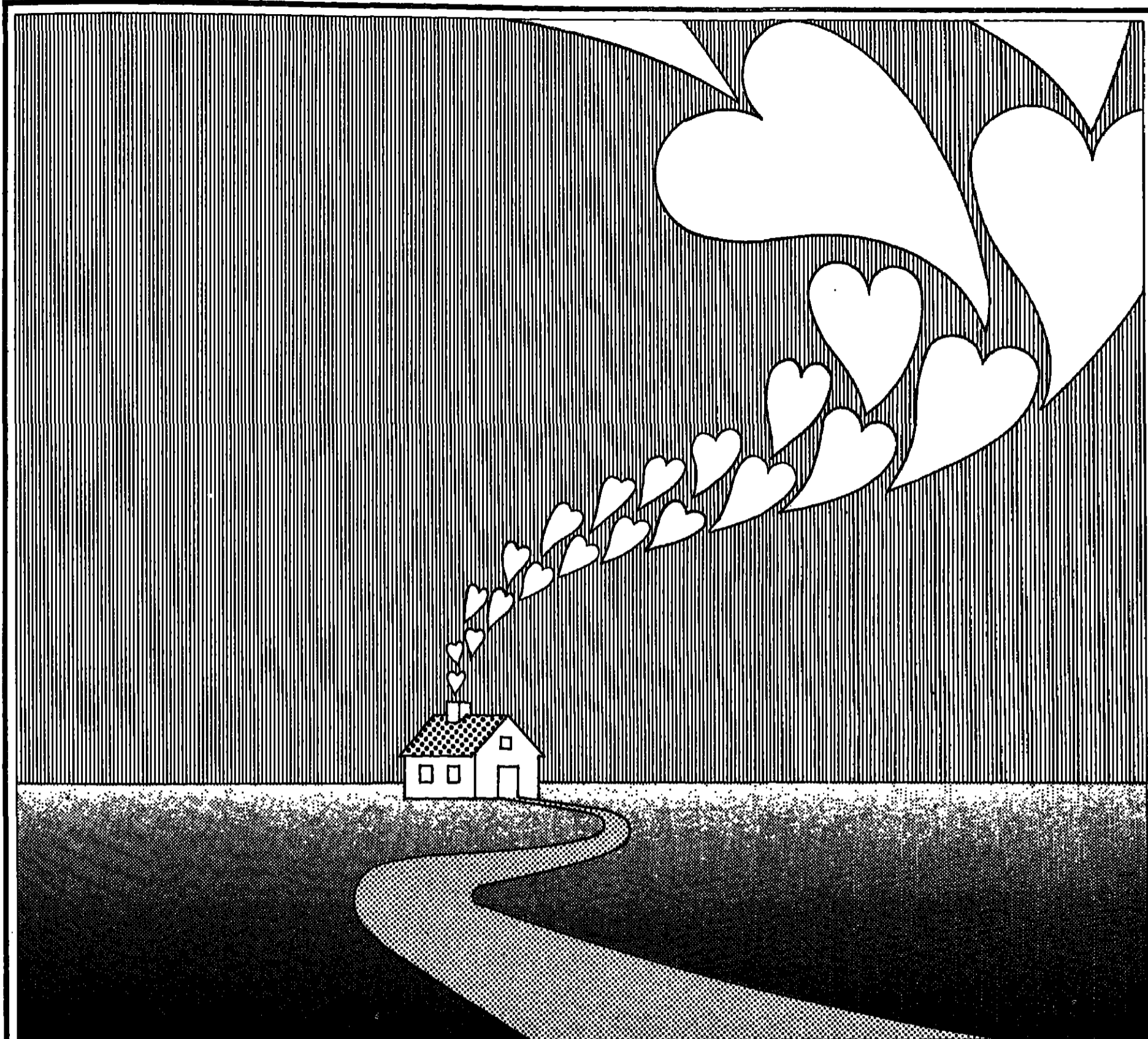
Despite many thorough searches, the Lebanese security authorities never managed to discover any incriminating evidence against her.

Nevertheless, informers turned on her in 1961 and she was arrested. She was eventually to serve seven years in prison. Her husband was convicted with her in 1963 as her accomplice and he served a two-year sentence.

SHULA DENIED all charges against her, even under interrogation of "the most sophisticated sort," as she calls it. Christian and Moslem associates broke under interrogation, but when confronted with them, Shula adamantly maintained she had never even met them before.

The less cooperative Shula was, the more severe were the methods of interrogation. When one team

(Continued on page 4)



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Look for the Woolmark

(Continued from page 4)

of investigators gave up, a new set was immediately brought in. Despite the fact that Shula would be interrogated for hours on end, or in the middle of the night, she still refused to admit anything, save for adding a few dozen Jews, who had been a burden on the Beirut community, to get to Israel. It is believed that she in fact helped thousands of Jews from Syria and Iraq to get to Israel, and that she established escape routes by land, sea and air.

SHULA was thrown into solitary confinement for extended periods and was always accompanied by eight armed guards in an armoured van when moved from prison to court or to be questioned. Shula withstood all the emotional and physical hardships of prison life, as well as electric shocks and other brutal torture. After she was released from prison, she was seriously ill and in need of surgery.

Two events affected her life in prison. The first was the capture of Eli Cohen, the Israeli master spy. The Syrians were convinced there was a connection between Cohen and Shula and sent their own investigators to Beirut to interrogate and torture her for over a year. To her great fortune, the Lebanese authorities never agreed to the Syrians' demands that she be delivered to Damascus, where she had been sentenced to death in absentia.

The second event was the Six Day War. Once again, Shula, the only Jew in her prison ward, was put into solitary confinement, but this time for her own safety. After much behind-the-scenes negotiations, it was decided that Shula and an Israeli pilot who fell over Lebanon on a mission to Syria would be returned to Israel as part of an exchange involving 396 prisoners-of-war under the aegis of the Red Cross. It was also arranged for the rest of Shula's family to leave Lebanon. They joined her in Israel, via Cyprus, soon afterwards.

Blindfolded and exhausted, Shula was led to the border checkpoint at Rosh Hanikra accompanied by one of her former interrogators from the Lebanese *Securite*.

"You see," she turned to him. "I'm being released. I'm innocent, just as I've maintained all along."

Her former interrogator then revealed that the informer they had planted in her spy ring had been a double-agent working for the Syrians as well.

"If that's the kind of men the *Deuxieme Bureau* works with, then you should be ashamed," Shula reproached him.

The officer grinned, looked closely at her and asked: "In a few moments you'll be free. What you admit now that you were a spy?"

"You're trying to deceive me," Shula replied. "I admit to nothing."

The officer looked at her with admiration and laughed: "Do you think Israel will find many more like you? I can only wish you well, Israel knew whom to choose."

The gate was lifted, and Shula was home again.

Dr. Tobin is a lecturer in the Foreign Literature and Linguistics Department of the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. He translated a manuscript about Shula Cohen as Codename: The Pearl. Penguin Books in England and Delacorte in the U.S.

IT STARTS WITH an accident or an act of stupidity. And once it starts, the ugly confusion of the senses turns a demonstration into a riot, a peaceful protest into a dangerous, hysterical outburst.

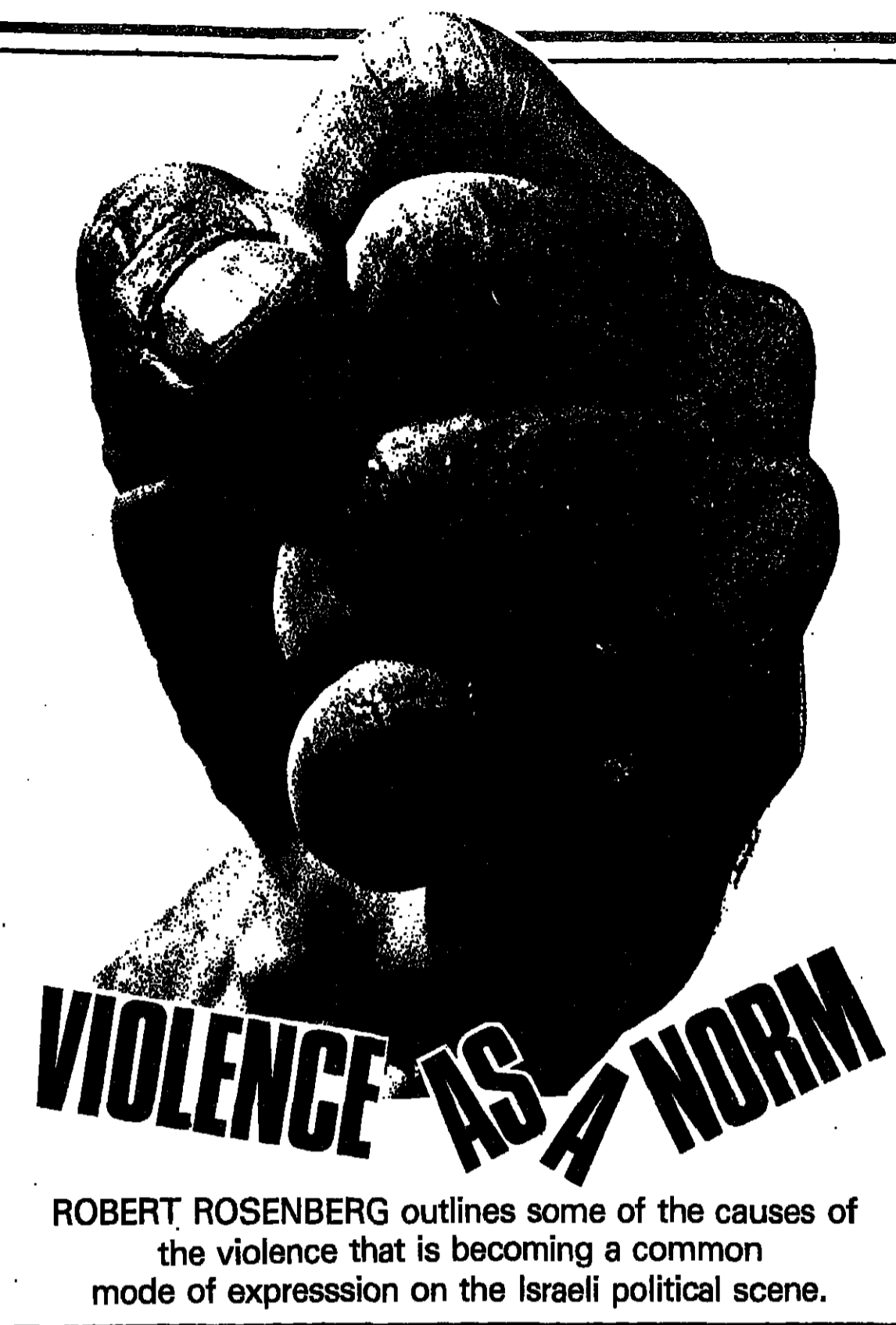
Last week's tire-burning, rock-throwing and window-breaking by slum-quarter residents angry and frustrated by the economic policies of the government they themselves elected, were hardly the first brutal confrontations between demonstrators and security forces in the capital.

In the past six months, a group of handicapped individuals halted traffic and dumped garbage and excrement in public buildings; Yamit settlers brought tractors to the city to block traffic; Gush Emunim protesters have scuffled with police; Peace Now demonstrators have felt the rough push of mounted policemen; Arab youths, angry about a sports facility bordering on their village but fencing them out, have stoned Jewish children; and last but not least, religious zealots have sent dozens of people to hospital after stone-throwing over the Ramot road, over the proposed Shuafat stadium, over "pornographic advertisements" on buses.

Jerusalem's reputation abroad as a city of tolerance, which Mayor Teddy Kollek has worked so hard to create, is quickly disappearing. And already terms such as "a second Belfast" are being bandied about by foreign journalists stationed in Israel.

A demonstration becomes a riot when the first sound of breaking glass pierces the chanted slogans with a new message for demonstrator and policeman alike. A demonstration turns into a riot when the police misjudge the ability of leaders to control their followers, or when demonstrators correctly judge that the police are bound by political considerations that prevent tough action.

Teddy Kollek blames the government. He says that he can understand demonstrators turning to violence when politicians "in the cabinet threaten each other with rifles, and in the Knesset they threaten each other with words." He cites the illegal sit-in at the Hadassah building in Hebron by Gush Emunim women, and how the government has shown itself impotent to act. That impotence, Kollek intimates, also explains why police have never taken a strong stand against stone-throwing religious demonstrators. He won't say there are orders not to use force against the religious. Indeed, Kollek protests that there are no



orders at all and the police have no guidelines. But from Kollek's remarks it is clear that for certain segments of the population, violence is considered a "legitimate" means of political expression. Gush Emunim flouts the law, proud to say it obeys a higher law than that of the state. The handicapped, relying on a sympathetic — and

guilt-ridden — public, use force to press their demands. And the religious, who only last week were protected by the police from angry Ramot residents who were ready to march into the religious neighbourhoods to protest against stone-throwing, hide behind the black cloth of coalition partners whom the government is afraid to offend.

IT WAS EASY last week to blame the Black Panthers for the violence that broke out. They have a reputation. But of all the demonstrations that took place, it was the Panther-organized rally in Musrara that did not turn into a confrontation. MK Charlie Biton, the head of the Panther movement, which like him was born in the neighbourhood, had firm con-

rol of the demonstration. There was some tire-burning to stop traffic, and effigies were burnt as well. But there was no broken glass, and no police batons or tear gas were necessary. When Biton said the demonstration was over, it was.

But elsewhere, the accident, the misroad signal and the subsequently uncontrolled emotions quickly turned demonstrations that began peacefully into full-scale battles.

Panthers and leaders of the Ohel self-help communal organization that planned the rallies, had no intention of provoking violence. Even rioters who were interviewed hours after the demonstrations said they hadn't planned violence. Most blamed police intervention, or apparent rumours of such intervention — usually reports of police beating a young girl, or arresting an innocent bystander — for the outburst.

"The most ironic thing about the demonstrations was that it was the fathers of the rioters who had to clean up afterwards, and it was the brothers of the rioters who wore police uniforms that night," says Kollek. Indeed, many of the policemen told demonstrators at the spot that they agreed wholeheartedly with the protest. And one of the demonstrators told this reporter that he was an off-duty policeman. The point is that what was early in the evening a protest against rising prices and poor housing, soon turned into something much uglier. And the message was lost. The way cool heads were.

PANTHER leader Sa'adia Marciano last week seemed to be replaying the early days of his protest organization, by going into hiding from police the way he did after hijacking a dairy truck and distributing free milk to passerby in Zion Square. Marciano regrets last week's violence, but sees positive aspects in the expression of outright disgust from the neighbourhoods.

"What happened was that anger and frustration came out. There wasn't a plan for it, we didn't incite it. But it was there, all along. The new economic plan was announced the same day the government announced that billions of pounds were going to the West Bank settlements. That's something we won't stand for."

Less than a month ago, Marciano was at a demonstration at a West Bank settlement. The Panthers picked Moshay Elazar, which is a self-supporting Gush Etzion settlement and not a Gush Emunim settlement — and

(Continued on page 8)



FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1979

THE JERUSALEM POST MAGAZINE

PAGE SEVEN

Israel Theatres

The Cameri Theatre
DEATH OF A SALESMAN
Tomorrow, Dec. 1; Sun., Dec. 2
Mon., Dec. 3; Tues., Dec. 4

Habima
Premiere — THE EXCURSION
Tomorrow, Dec. 1; Sun., Dec. 2

THE EXECUTION — Taavia
Tomorrow, Dec. 1 at 8, 10 p.m.

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Ha'Irya
(Pumpitla) Dec. 3, 4

THE FATHERS
Dec. 3, 4

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and 16.00 to 19.00 p.m. HAIFA, AHUZA, 53 Horev St. from 9.00 a.m. to 19 p.m.
BE'ER SHEVA, The new branch. 37 Rambam St. (Corner Hertzelt St.)

(Continued from page 7)

perhaps not the best choice to press their point. But the violence that broke out there, with gun-toting, skullcapped settlers threatening the "Arab-looking" demonstrators, was a signal that few missed.

As one reporter on the scene later described it, "the glue that holds this society together is dry and brittle, and the pieces are coming apart."

INTOLERANCE in the city is not limited to politics. The political atmosphere of the country has inevitably swept into the street. And like in the economy, there has also been an inflation in modes of protest and personal behaviour. Five years ago, table-turning was the most violent act any individual would commit in an office. This year, the handicapped befouled the halls of the Treasury building. Six years ago, police holding a line against demonstrators protesting against the late Golda Meir's handling of the Yom Kippur War, could say to the protesters on a cold and rainy Jerusalem afternoon that they agreed with their argument, "But we're all Jews, so why don't you go home now and have some tea?"

Today rock-throwing and legal chicanery over Eilon Moreh are the norm.

It's difficult to say when the violence began to spread. Perhaps when Gush Emunim — once called "lovable" by Menahem Begin — stormed then-U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger's car in protest against the second disengagement agreement with Egypt. Perhaps it began with Kedumim, the first illegal settlement that wasn't removed — in the days of the Rabin government. Perhaps it began with the Panthers themselves — except they were quickly slapped into jail; and while they made the public aware of the existence of the problem, far less has been done to remove the blight of poverty from the country's cities than has been done for settlements in the West Bank.

What worries Jerusalem residents is that the violence and officially sanctioned law-breaking is affecting the everyday life of the city. The mood on buses and on the highways is becoming nastier, as are the mutually hostile attitudes of the public and their public servants.

Young people are quick to push and shove, no longer in the warm Mediterranean manner known throughout the Levant, but with hostility and anger. At the peaceful Ramot road demonstration last Saturday, bands of youths, mostly from the nearby Shmuel Hanavi quarter, came carrying clubs, and the disappointment was evident on their faces when no violence erupted.

"IT WILL take years of education to repair the damage done to those kids who demonstrated in the slums last week," says Kolket.

Despite what the foreign journalists say, Jerusalem is not yet another Belfast; but not much is left of its famed tolerance. The acrid smell of burning tires, the blinding, flashing lights of police cars and photographers' flash bulbs, the sounds of breaking glass and the rhythmic beat of the boots of Border Police marching towards a screaming mob, that has forgotten the original message of its protest, have become familiar sights and sounds in the Holy City.

City officials say that it is natural for protests to take place

in the capital, which is the seat of government.

But they now watch each demonstration with trepidation.

The police belong to the government, and with the government practically sanctioning illegal demonstrations by some groups, the police have become confused about how to deal with demonstrations. This confusion is exploited by the demonstrators, and the vicious cycle of riot begins.

The fire next time in the neighbourhoods, or outside the Prime Minister's Office or the Knesset, the protest next time by one group or another pleading its case in the streets, won't be smaller than the previous one. Political groups learn from each other, they learn from television and from experience.

Already last week, 24 hours after the Tuesday night demonstrations, stum youths and children gathered on street corners, not to protest against their living conditions, but to see what the police would do. And the police, like the demonstrators, had learned from the night before. They didn't wait for violence to erupt, they made arrests, which actually led to violence.

MANY OF US have stood by the side of a pile of burning leaves. The smoke comes first, with the flames often smothered by damper leaves at the top of the pile. The tinder is there, and if it smokes long enough, the flame bursts out.

For Jerusalem, the tinder is the government's unwillingness to act against those lawbreakers it supports. And the flame is there, beneath the damp leaves of "we're all Jews," or "national security."

Tomorrow, the Ramot road will be open, this time without the heavy police guard that accompanied last week's peaceful rally by secular residents. Natural Karta threatens to be there. Once again a clash between two segments of the population looms. And once again, it is not clear whether NRP Interior Minister Yosef Burg, who also heads the police, and has to take into account competition from Agudat Yisrael, will make any effort to prevent violence.

Eilon Moreh still stands, despite the court order for its removal. Peace Now threatens to "visit" the site. The Panthers threaten to "visit" the site. Gush Emunim refuses to evacuate it.

Arab children are again throwing stones in the Old City. Kolket says that "we denied them all political expression, so that's their political expression." Nabliu mayor Bassam Sheh is under arrest for saying something similar, albeit in harsher terms. Begin reiterates that the Gush sit-in in Hebron, which has been going on for more than six months, is illegal. Coalition members pay visits to the site and make arrangements to improve the physical conditions.

The dizzying fall into lawlessness and violence has become alarming. What is not clear is the government's willingness — or ability — to halt that fall, or to prevent the rise of a demagogue who may try to trade a free speech in a democracy for an order enforced by its own lawlessness.

The delicate balance between the various ethnic, religious, cultural and economic groups of the country has begun to tip. Which way it will fall remains to be seen. In Jerusalem, the city of peace, a warning has been sounded.

Kissinger and Cambodia

Was Cambodia just an inherited tragedy for Henry Kissinger? Or did he push the 'fat, peaceful little country' over the edge to destruction? British journalist NEAL ASCHERSON examines the case against the former U.S. Secretary of State.



Cambodian refugees near the Thailand-Cambodia border. (Camera Press) (Centre) Kissinger and friend. (Israel Sun) (Right) A Cambodian infant sits by his father's weapon. (Unipix)

"THE STATESMAN'S test is not only the exaltation (sic) of his goals, but the catastrophe he averts." So writes Henry Kissinger in the first volume of his memoirs.

Kissinger certainly "exalts" his goals. He insists that he's a moralist, not a cold prince of expediency. His supreme moral aim is the defence of American values (as he sees them) and "the foreclosing of Soviet opportunities." For this end, many means are justified. And in the end, there's only one "catastrophe" — that the United States should lose its "credibility."

Everyone in the West is obsessed with the Cambodian catastrophe. We have seen the pictures and understood — inexorably late — the suffering. A fat, peaceful little country, full of rice, water-buffaloes and lively children, was drawn into the Indo-Chinese conflict 10 years ago. Now we see a place of skulls, where leaf-light people crawl through the grass like tortoises, where only armed men have food. Who did this? The Khmer Rouge, it seems. Who made them possible? Many people want to say that it was Kissinger, and his master Nixon.

Patiently and impatiently, Kissinger has argued that he is not to blame. Behind this harping on America's role in Cambodia, he plainly feels, there must hide a deliberate "got Kissinger" operation. This isn't really so, but there's a thread of truth in it.

In America, some people are — as he savagely says — trying to exercise their own moral confusion. Those who opposed the American war in Indo-China have to live with what has followed: American withdrawal; the harsh Stalinism of the new Vietnam; the Poi Pot horrors, the Vietnamese hegemony extended by force of arms over Laos and Cambodia. For a few (not all), there opens the spongy-hatch of saying: If America had not intervened, these things would not have happened.

But a pre-emptive strike on his "critics" motives cannot destroy the case which Kissinger must justify.

We are dealing here with the two earlier episodes of U.S. action against Cambodia. These are the secret B-52 bombings of North Vietnamese "sanctuary" bases just within the Cambodian border, which began on March 18, 1969, and the joint U.S.-South Vietnamese ground invasion of the border areas in April-May 1970.

Kissinger's first argument is that Cambodian neutrality had already been violated. Large North Vietnamese and Vietcong forces had been in the sanctuaries for years. The Cambodian ruler, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, resented their presence but could not by himself remove them.

All this is true. Violated, however, does not mean nullified. A vital part of neutrality is the choice to keep hostilities, not just foreign soldiers, off neutral soil. Nor is neutrality nullified by the inability of the state concerned to resist military violation; this was the weakness of the German argument for invading Belgium in 1914 and of Churchill's argument for intervening in Norway unilaterally before the Germans got there. In this sense, the U.S.'s intervention was a crime against the international order.

On the bombing, Kissinger claims that Sihanouk privately approved, that the targets were "largely uninhabited" except by North Vietnamese troops, and that the bombing programme — code-named MENU — relieved pressure on Saigon.

Sihanouk is an unreliable witness for either side. It is true that in May 1969 he said that any bombing did not concern him unless Cambodians were killed. In March, however, he had told a press conference that he would oppose bombing of Cambodia "under whatever pretext."

THE CAMBODIANS never protested about casualties in this phase. But the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington warned in April that several thousand peasants lived in the B-52 target boxes, and some civilian casualties were inevitable. What really happened is unknown.

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(Continued from page 8)

intervention in Indo-China at once made them possible and ensured their doom.

CHARGE 2. That Kissinger and the Nixon administration engineered the coup in March 1970 which overthrew Sihanouk and installed Lon Nol as Cambodian ruler, or at least that they knew of the plot in advance.

A good part of the world now assumes that Lon Nol was an American puppet riding on a CIA coup.

There is no evidence that this is true. There is a lot of evidence, lavishly offered by Kissinger, that Washington was taken by surprise, and that the decision to back Lon Nol as "our man in Cambodia" was slow.

It seems that the CIA at one moment predicted a coup. But this report doesn't appear to have reached the top in Washington.

Lon Nol and his associates, who had many contacts with the Americans in Saigon, simply assumed that the U.S. would support them if they took power.

CHARGE 3. That Kissinger encouraged Lon Nol to maintain a suicidal war for five years, sacrificing Cambodia to save his plan for "honourable" American withdrawal from Vietnam. That he made no effort to reach a Cambodian peace settlement.

In this phase, the main American intervention, U.S. aircraft throughout Cambodia dropped nearly four times the weight of bombs dropped on Japan during the last war. On the ground, Cambodian casualties were appalling.

The accusation is that war in Cambodia came to suit Kissinger's purpose better than peace - better, even, than restoring the previous "flawed" neutrality under Sihanouk. Until the Paris Agreement of January 1973, Cambodia was being hit by some 10,000 North Vietnamese troops who would otherwise have been operating against South Vietnam.

Kissinger conceded that "any improvement of Cambodian capabilities was bound to press [the North Vietnamese] hard." Nixon said quite openly that aid to Cambodia was "the best investment the United States has made in my lifetime... If those North Vietnamese weren't in Cambodia, they'd be killing Americans."

But Kissinger protests that he constantly sought peace. He promises evidence in his next volume, where the record will show, he says, that "we were prepared, indeed eager, for Sihanouk's return... and that a negotiation was beginning." Once again, he tries to turn the missile back on his foes. Congress and the student mob, by hobbling the aid to Lon Nol, struck out of his hands the weapon which would have made his peace approaches credible. When Congress ended American air attacks in summer 1973, the Khmer Rouge saw that they could now win.

"Those who had denounced the 1970 invasion did their utmost to forestall any effective assistance to the beleaguered country, as if to punish the free Cambodians for not living up to the role of victim..."

To sum up, Kissinger cannot convincingly deny that Cambodia was sacrificed to American policy in Vietnam. He argues that he wanted to limit the sacrifice by reaching a favourable peace settlement; and that the Khmer Rouge conquest might have been prevented if he could have negotiated from a position of strength.

CHARGE 4. That American intervention in Cambodia created the Khmer Rouge as a major force.

Kissinger initially failed to understand the tensions between communists in Indo-China. The North Vietnamese never wanted an independent Khmer communist movement. In 1970, the Khmer Rouge were a tiny maquis under Pol Pot. After the Lon Nol coup, North Vietnam gave them support. But the length of the war and traditional Cambodian hatred of the Vietnamese ensured that they would not only expand but remain sharply suspicious of the North Vietnamese. By late 1972, the Khmer Rouge were around 50,000 strong, and the North Vietnamese candidly told Kissinger at the Paris peace talks that they could not control them or guarantee that they would also cease fire.

Kissinger does not advance any argument against this charge, and it would be hard to find one. If America had either stayed out of Cambodia or constructed a deal with the North Vietnamese right after the Lon Nol coup, the Khmer Rouge would probably have remained insignificant. The only possible defence is that, given the administration's ignorance of Cambodian feelings and recent history, this development could not have been foreseen in Washington. It is not an impressive excuse.

CHARGE 5. That American actions destroyed the Cambodian economy and introduced famine and the conditions for future famine.

Cambodia entered the war as a rice-exporting country. In 1969-70, rice production amounted to 2.5 million tons. In 1974, 80 per cent of the paddy fields had been abandoned and rice production was down to a sixth of that total. By the time Phnom Penh fell, there was widespread starvation. Three out of every four draught animals were dead, and hundreds of thousands of peasants were either refugees or away in the armies.

To this awful picture, the American air offensive contributed heavily. The dykes were breached, the peasants driven off their fields. And, until the American bombing was stopped, refugees named it as their main reason for flight. After that, they put the ferocity of the Khmer Rouge as first reason.

More generally, famine results from social disruption as much as from crop failure. Whoever was responsible for maintaining the war was responsible for famine indirectly, which applies to all sides involved in the war.

Kissinger makes no comment on all this. But the question arises whether American action can fairly be blamed for the mass starvation in Cambodia today. The answer must be that the Pol Pot regime bears most of the blame for failing to overcome damage and chaos - famine conditions - largely created by American action six years ago. One must add, unpopular though it may be in some quarters, that the upheaval of the Vietnamese invasion earlier this year and the continuing fighting is probably responsible for the latest wave of starvation.

CHARGE 6. That the American role in the war somehow "maddened" the Khmer Rouge, transforming them from mere doctrinaire communists to genocidal fanatics.

Kissinger will have none of this. "The bizarre argument has in-

deed been made, with a glaring lack of substantiation, that the cruelty of the Khmer Rouge in victory was the product of five years of American and Cambodian attempts to resist them. No one can accept this as an adequate explanation except apologists for the murderous Khmer Rouge."

In the first place, it was only the prolongation of the war under American influence which allowed the Khmer Rouge to expand and practise their brutalities - whenever they conceived them. Second, although the Cambodian communists always had a back-to-the-land, anti-urban radicalism, they moved in the course of the war from a rather conciliatory policy to the peasants to versions of the murderous ruthlessness displayed later.

The bombing did not "drive them mad." But it drove much of the peasantry towards the Khmer Rouge for a time. And the war, with all its hunger and homelessness, unleashed an underlying savagery in Cambodian behaviour - not only among the communists themselves. The increasing desperation of the war, and the sense that the nation was being manipulated by foreign oppressors, turned latent ruthlessness into a pandemic of massacre.

There is no excuse for Pol Pot. But neither can the Nixon administration wash its hands of him. Kissinger could not have anticipated what Pol Pot would do. But he made it possible for him to do it.

LET THIS indictment rest here. It's pointless to compose a single verdict. But at least we can judge better now whether Kissinger passed his own "charismatic" test.

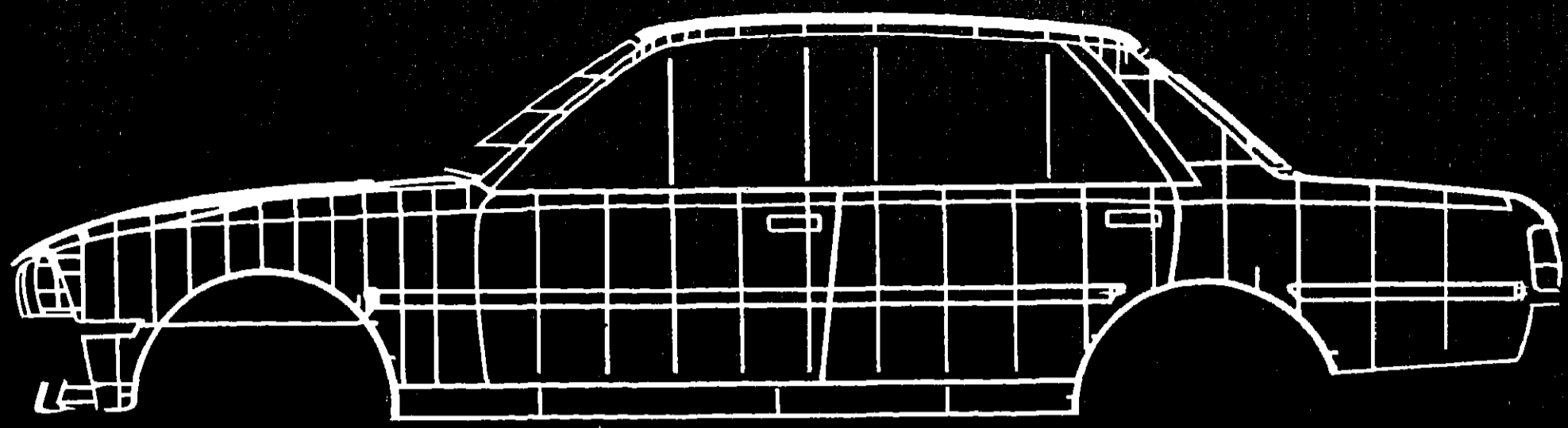
That "charismatic impulse" came to mean that he exalted the national interest of the U.S. to supreme moral imperative, something which justified the sacrifice of a small neutral country. He certainly didn't "avert catastrophe" from Cambodia; instead, he tried to throw an unexploded American catastrophe into that miserable land before it went off. He begged America always for a little more time to use a little more force, and then it would be peace with honour. In the end, Congress grew tired of this and took away his sword.

Kissinger naturally sees the conflict only as an American involvement, "the Vietnam War" with its Cambodian sideshow. But this is bad history. We are probably midway through the "Indo-Chinese Wars," which began in 1945. The Second Indo-China War ended in 1975, with the fall of Saigon and Phnom Penh. The Third, which will no doubt involve great powers as dangerously as the others, is starting now - under our eyes.

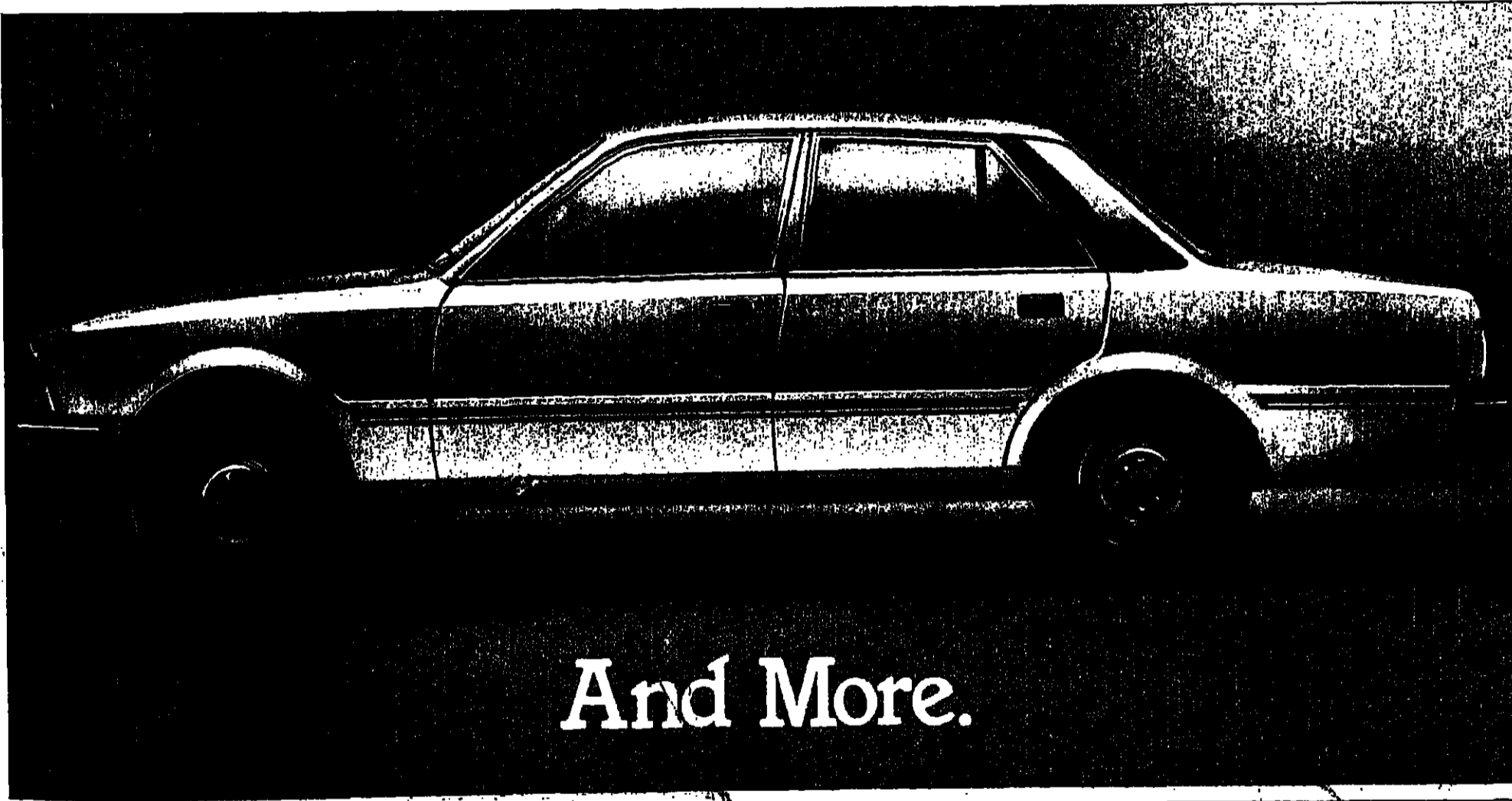
It is better to understand American intervention in the Second Indo-China War as only an episode - theatrical, cruelly destructive but in the end deciding very little. Indo-China is the Balkans of the modern world, where the hatreds and ambitions of small, warlike people at once attract great powers to magnify the conflict.

There was war there before President Johnson, there was war there after President Nixon. All America achieved was to make that war worse, for a season, to imperil world peace, and to overstrain itself internally. History can teach humility about "exalted goals" - even to Henry Kissinger.

(Observer Foreign News Service)



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HE IS PERHAPS the second most important man at the Education Ministry. As head of the Pedagogical Secretariat, Professor Yosef Ben-Shlomo is responsible for what and how things are taught in the country's schools.

He has a forceful personality. He is tall and powerful; his hands, which cut through the air constantly as he talks, are strong; his face is angular, almost jagged, and is dominated by a strong nose and a large, asymmetrical mouth, the result of partial paralysis of the face muscles caused by a physical breakdown a year ago.

"I reached a point where I just could not go on any more," says the 49-year-old temporary civil servant, who is also a full-time professor of Jewish thought and philosophy at Tel Aviv University. In the past he frequently lectured at the IDF's staff college and at the National Defence College. "It was all too much," he says. His illness brought to an end most of his activity outside the secretariat and the university. "I have now reached a crossroads," he says.

BEN-SHLOMO'S thinking is dominated by what he sees as "the catastrophic level of knowledge of Jewish subjects among the country's youngsters," and by his view of how he, personally, can help to rectify the situation. "I am appalled by the ignorance of our youth in all that concerns their past and their heritage — Jewish history, the Bible, culture, religion, traditions — and I am frightened by what this portends for the future of the Jewish people."

"Shema Israel," "Kiddush Hashem" and "Kol Nidrei" were phrases that meant nothing to a class of teachers' training college students interviewed recently, he asserts.

When he was approached in February 1978 by Education Minister Zevulun Hammer, it was the opportunity of effecting a change in this sphere that made him accept the ministry post.

For six months prior to Ben-Shlomo's appointment the minister had searched unsuccessfully among educators and academics for a suitable candidate; all those who were approached refused the post, preferring the quieter, academically productive life of the university.

Looking back, Ben-Shlomo regards his stint on the secretariat as having involved "an enormous sacrifice in terms of personal energy and health, and in terms of academic advancement and productivity."

In January, Ben-Shlomo will take six months' unpaid leave from the ministry and head for the serene pastures of Stanford University. "I will then have a chance to consider things at a distance and to weigh up whether to return to the secretariat," he says.

As things stand now, Ben-Shlomo is a study in frustration, thwarted ambitions and unaccomplished goals. The size and complexity of the education system make change and innovation extremely difficult, if not impossible, says Ben-Shlomo. Vested interests, traditions, inertia and suspicion about his motives and intentions contributed to blocking his efforts.

"I feel I have failed," he says, nodding slowly, as if contemplating the gap between wish and reality.

THE FLISH-BORN professor, who is a world expert on Spinoza, resigned his senior lecturership at

Disinherited minds



Education Ministry mandarin Yosef Ben-Shlomo talks to BENNY MORRIS about his frustration at seeing young Israelis growing up ignorant of their Jewish heritage.

the Hebrew University's grounding in the traditional philosophy department in 1976 and took up his present professorship in Jewish studies at Tel Aviv University.

In Jerusalem, he had taught modern European philosophy — Descartes, Leibniz, Spinoza — and is remembered by many of the department's students as its outstanding teacher. "I wanted to teach the Israeli youngster about his past, about Judaism and its values — about his identity. That is the need of the hour in contemporary Israel. The Hebrew University was crowded with luminaries in Jewish studies. Tel Aviv University needed me, so I went," says Ben-Shlomo.

Though there have been many complaints and expressions of outrage, nobody really knows just how ignorant the country's youth is, Ben-Shlomo concedes. A comprehensive scientific study is now under way to investigate how much the country's 8th and 11th graders know about Jewish history and culture. "I added a further set of questions about Western history and culture — like 'Who was Shakespeare?' — to the original questionnaire," says Ben-Shlomo.

But he regards the study's conclusions as foregone. "Why, most teachers now emerging from teachers' training colleges are incapable of teaching the classics of Hebrew literature, like Bialik, because they lack a rudimentary

reality," he says.

It is in this area that Ben-Shlomo, as head of the Pedagogical Secretariat, has felt his greatest frustration. As someone who spent 15 years as a secondary-school teacher before becoming a lecturer, "influencing" the young is very important to him, "more important than pursuing research."

He is highly critical of how the Bible is currently taught in the country's non-religious schools. "Everything is subjected to scientific analysis; everything is taken apart and examined for truth and consistency. The Bible has a message, a moral code, a reality more important and fundamental than the outpourings of research whose proper place is at the universities. More attention is devoted in the classrooms to Hamurabi's code than to our Ten Commandments," he scoffs.

He is also aware that the Oral Law is not taught properly, or at all, in many of the schools. "I wanted to add more hours for the Oral Law at the pre-high school level, but there simply wasn't the budget."

"A PEOPLE that forgets its past is like a person stricken by amnesia," says Ben-Shlomo. "It cannot function properly, and loses its powers of self-preservation."

Accepting Scholem's dialectical view of Jewish history, Ben-Shlomo believes that the Jewish people has reached a watershed and is now moving from the "non-religious Zionist" phase of the past century to a new, higher stage of existence. "The Jews cannot exist as a completely secular people," he says, quoting Scholem.

Ben-Shlomo is an admirer of the Gush Emunim settlement movement. He views it as an embodiment of a positive, pioneering spirit and as a repository of deep Jewish values. He also believes in the settlement of the West Bank for purely strategic reasons.

"But my political beliefs and my philosophy are completely immaterial. I don't even say that the youngsters must be taught that Jewish values are good. All I say is that they should know the content of their past and culture. In the case of the Jews, religion is part of that culture."

In the teaching of history, priority must be given to Jewish, and especially Diaspora, history. "But not at the expense of general history," he stresses, fully acknowledging that ignorance in this area among Israel's youth is also vast.

In the coming years, more hours will in fact be devoted to the teaching of Jewish history, at the expense of optional subjects like art history and dancing. "If we must choose between Jewish history and art history — and believe me I think everyone should know who Rembrandt and Van Gogh were — then Jewish history must come first," he says.

Ben-Shlomo was instrumental in introducing this year's innovative 30-hour compulsory 11th grade course on the Holocaust — until now taught as a subject in the general history classes.

He would also like to introduce a 30-60 hour course on "general concepts in Western culture." "There are pupils who finish high school without knowing the meaning of such terms as 'The Renaissance,' 'the Reformation' and 'medieval,'" he says.

OVER THE past decades the trend in the West has been towards liberalization of the classroom situation, the abandon-

ment of frontal teaching and "formalism," and the development of "potential" rather than the in-culcation of knowledge and facts.

"I believe the pendulum is swinging back in the other direction. Creativity is very important, but teaching the disciplines, knowing things, is even more so," he says. He points out, with an impish smile, that in at least one major recent study it was shown that in the final analysis conservative teaching methods promote greater creativity than more liberal methods.

One of his major "innovative" efforts, to introduce reading lessons in the country's compulsory kindergartens, has been tenaciously and consistently resisted by the kindergarten inspectors. "I am speaking of a mere 25 minutes a day and of informal methods," he says, wearily. Like the inspectors, Ben-Shlomo regards the country's kindergarten system as perhaps one of its major educational achievements. But he totally rejects the inspectors' argument that the introduction of reading lessons would destroy its character. "They say it would introduce competition and formalism," says Ben-Shlomo. "But kids at the age of five are bursting with a desire to learn to read. What now happens is that Ashkenazi children very often reach first grade already knowing how to read from home while their Sephardi counterparts arrive with inferior accomplishments, which in some cases continue to stalk them throughout their school years," he says.

So far, Ben-Shlomo has managed to introduce reading lessons on an experimental basis in 28 Beit Shean kindergartens. He hopes that the experiment will succeed and eventually lead to a breaking down of the inspectors' resistance.

BEN-SHLOMO regards the training of Israel's teachers as thoroughly inadequate and as a major defect in the education system. "Most university departments hardly prepare their students as teachers. They teach them little of the kind of general knowledge in their specific fields that will be useful in the classroom later on," he says.

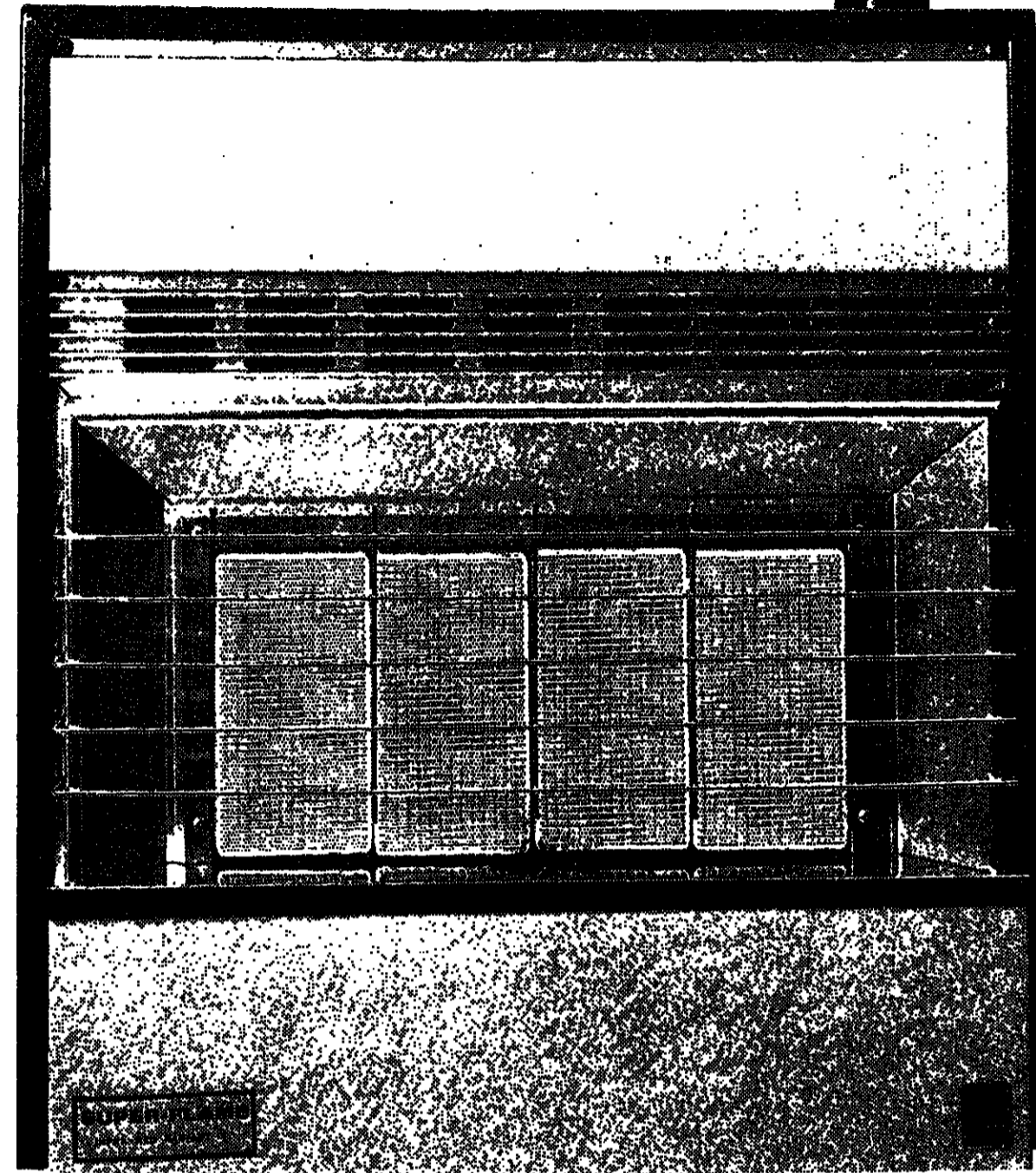
Efforts by the Education Ministry to persuade the university departments to adapt their curriculums to the needs of the country's schools have been as repeatedly ignored or rejected, he charges.

Nor is the situation in the teachers' seminars particularly edifying, adds Ben-Shlomo. He laments the low level of many of the entrants. "I succeeded this year in persuading some teachers' training colleges to introduce voluntary two-hour per week courses on basic Jewish cultural themes and concepts, so that we don't get teachers who have never heard of Maimonides," he says.

But everything is not black; there are encouraging signs, too. He notes that the initiative for such courses came from the students who felt a need to better themselves in this respect.

"And I was vastly encouraged by visits to schools in remote regions, in development towns, in poor neighbourhoods in the big cities. I found many dedicated teachers who, like anonymous soldiers, do their duty. And I found classrooms full of pupils from culturally backward backgrounds, clean and orderly and eager to learn. These occasional visits and sights kept up my spirits," he says.

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Unusual investigators

MEDIA WEEK / Daphne Raz

TWO NEW detective series begin this week. Jack Klugman returns to the screen as investigative pathologist Quincy, replacing *Honou 5-0* on Friday evenings (beginning tonight at 23:10). Quincy manages to solve intriguing mysteries by means of minute medical investigation — all leading Quincy above and beyond a coroner's duties. Quincy is also shown Monday evenings on Jordan TV.

Saturday's thriller (22:15) is the opening episode of a new detective series to be screened regularly on Thursdays (beginning this Thursday at 22:25). *Richard Brockleman — Private Eye* features Dennis Dugan as one of the youngest private detectives on the Los Angeles beat. Despite his

youthful appearance and inexperience, he copes with unusual and complex cases which more experienced detectives tend to turn down.

Another youthful detective, Cheryl Ladd of *Charlie's Angels*, (Sunday, 22:05), shows off different charms and talents earlier the same evening on *The Muppet Show* (20:30).

TONIGHT we will see the second episode of *Blind Ambition* (22:20). John Dean's personal account of the Watergate affair. Dean and Mo's rocky relationship reaches a happy climax tonight while the tempest surrounding the Watergate break-in mounts.

Two feature films will be on during the week.



Dennis Dugan as Private Eye Richard Brockleman (TV: Thursday 22.25) (Right) Hanan Yovel (Galei Zahar: 21.05)

Moulin Rouge (Monday 21:35) is director John Huston's Oscar award winning film of 1952 based on the life of 19th century Parisian artist Toulouse-Lautrec. The film, starring Jose Ferrer and Zsa Zsa Gabor, captures the special bohemian atmosphere of Montmartre of those days as the background to the painter's tormented life.

Getting Married (Wednesday, 22:05), on the other hand, is a light TV comedy about the infatuation of a stagehand with a budding TV

star. The stagehand, played by Richard Thomas, tries every possible means of persuading the young lady to desert her fiancé in his favour.

THURSDAY'S documentary, *A Bridge in White* (21:35) looks into the ambivalent feelings of Arab patients from the territories as well as from Arab countries who are being treated in Israeli hospitals. (Broadcast in colour.) For lighter entertainment, we

can watch Meni Pe'er's *Good Hour* (21:20 tonight), the bi-weekly interview and variety show.

TUESDAY'S entertainment spot features singer Hanan Yovel in a performance filmed at the Tel Aviv Tzavta Club with Josie Katz, Shalom Hanoch and others. Recordings of Hanan Yovel's new programme will also be featured Saturday morning on Galei Zahar (12:05).



Small-time crooks



Catherine Deneuve and Jacques Dutronc star in Claude Lelouch's new film "A Nous Deux." (Double for Danger).

FILM REVIEWS / Ruth Ariella Brojde

AFTER MORE than 20 films, Claude Lelouch, the irrepressible romantic, is still making the same movie. The wrapping is different and the actors have changed, to be sure, but in essence the French director hasn't deviated an iota from his favourite theme of *A Man and A Woman*. That film, his most successful to date, won for him the Golden Palm in Cannes in 1966 and an international reputation.

Now, 13 years later, his latest film, *A Nous Deux* (Double for Danger) like its predecessors (*Another Man, Another Chance, Yvres Pour Yvres, La Bonne Année*, etc.) once again examines love, or what Lelouch likes to term "the mathematics of human relationships."

In this case, Lelouch adds one and one and comes up with two plus.

Catherine Deneuve, she of the fairytale golden locks, plays Francoise, a middle-class cellist whose life and *raison d'être* are drastically altered the night she is raped by a gang in her husband's pharmacy. Overnight she becomes a man-hater, bent on undermining the stronger sex. She exploits her beauty to attract and then to blackmail wealthy public figures.

Jacques Dutronc (originally a singer and a musician whom Lelouch brought to the screen) plays Simon, a wily small-time crook, newly escaped from prison. Francoise and Simon — who by all reason should never have even met — are thrown together by fate and join forces to escape the police. Their partnership in crime is first based on mutual distrust and antipathy, but it doesn't take a great detective to figure out how the film must end. The story line is transparent even for

moviegoers who are not familiar with Lelouch films, but the cat-and-mouse game played internally by Francoise and Simon and externally with the law has enough charm and verve to propel the film along even when it threatens to drag.

Echoing — but never duplicating — the daring and dash of *Bonnie and Clyde*, Deneuve and Dutronc are ideal Lelouch characters — not deep enough to be taken seriously, but not frivolous enough to be dismissed altogether.

Continuing in his directorial career as a middleweight with good box office appeal, Lelouch claims that he never tires of his human additions and subtractions. Although he usually manages to produce a likeable, clever flick with no disturbing afterthoughts, I'd be interested in watching him tackle a more complex approach to the same subject, not trigonometry, mind you, but perhaps second-year differential calculus.

Added to the comic confusion is the character of Sasson, a lookalike for Zev (played by Zev as well). A dim-witted but well-meaning fellow who works in the kitchen of the hotel where Zev, Israel, Shula, Ophelia, and Shai are all staying. Sasson would rather spend a cold night with a warm whiskey bottle, but nevertheless manages to get all the girls.

The slapstick, Charlie Chaplin routines are rousing, done, sometimes even hilarious, but could have been edited much more frugally — admittedly, it becomes a problem when the director is co-scriptwriter and also the star of the film. And yet, with fine performances turned in by all, one might be tempted to say that the longer you make Bourekas the better the results. *Wrong Number* is light and flakey on the outside, but has enough filling to make you forget even inflation. Any film that can do that in these troubled days deserves to be seen.

husband, doesn't suspect his excuse of reserve duty until she spots him on TV, bussing a bevy of bathing beauties in Tiberias.

Shula's girlfriend Ophelia (Ophelia Strahl) persuades her to go to Tiberias to lay a trap for the philanderer, while Ophelia's eternally jealous husband (Ophir), a police officer and a man of 100 disguises, is also in tow.

The permutations and combinations of romance and jealousy in such a story are endless: Israel is in love with Shula, Shula is in love with Zev, Zev is in love with a woman who reminds him of his wife (who is his wife in disguise), and Ophir is lurking behind every corner, muttering, "Sodom and Gemorrah."

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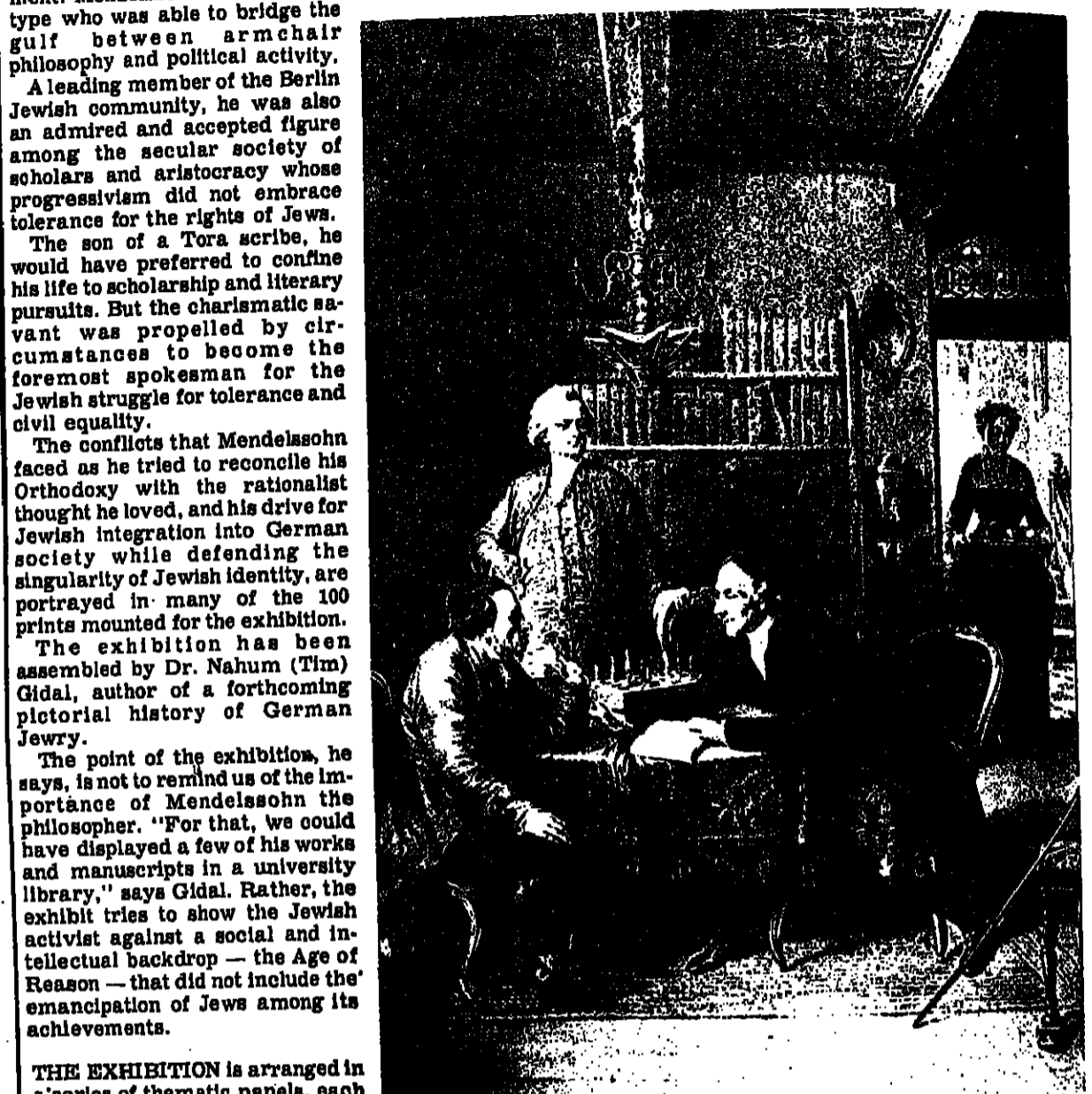
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Mendelssohn the magician



BETH HATEFUTSOTH is commemorating the 260th anniversary of the birth of philosopher Moses Mendelssohn with an exhibition entitled "Moses Mendelssohn and His Time."
The theme is appropriate, as Mendelssohn (1729-1786), a traditional Jew, was very much a guiding force of the Enlightenment. Mendelssohn was that rare type who was able to bridge the gulf between armchair philosophy and political activity. A leading member of the Berlin Jewish community, he was also an admired and accepted figure among the secular society of scholars and aristocracy whose progressivism did not embrace tolerance for the rights of Jews.
The son of a Tora scribe, he would have preferred to confine his life to scholarship and literary pursuits. But the charismatic servant was propelled by circumstances to become the foremost spokesman for the Jewish struggle for tolerance and civil equality.
The conflicts that Mendelssohn faced as he tried to reconcile his Orthodoxy with the rationalist thought he loved, and his drive for Jewish integration into German society while defending the singularity of Jewish identity, are portrayed in many of the 100 prints mounted for the exhibition.
The exhibition has been assembled by Dr. Nahum (Tim) Gidal, author of a forthcoming pictorial history of German Jewry.
The point of the exhibition, he says, is not to remind us of the importance of Mendelssohn the philosopher. "For that, we could have displayed a few of his works and manuscripts in a university library," says Gidal. Rather, the exhibit tries to show the Jewish activist against a social and intellectual backdrop — the Age of Reason — that did not include the emancipation of Jews among its achievements.

(Above) A lithograph after a painting by Openheim showing Moses Mendelssohn debating with Lavater, watched by Lessing. (Below left) Grandson Felix Mendelssohn (right) G.E. Lessing.



THE EXHIBITION is arranged in a series of thematic panels, each containing several reproductions of etchings, engravings, and documents. These are printed in sepia and yellowish tones to convey a sense of their 200-year-old origins. "Facsimile reproduction," Gidal terms the technique.
One panel depicts the ghetto-bound life of the Berlin Jewish community. Another, some of the leading local Jewish personalities, such as the "shadlan" Israel Jacobs and the zoologist Marcus Bloch.
Mendelssohn is seen with contemporaries such as Immanuel Kant, and friends like G.E. Lessing, whose play, *Nathan the Wise*, is based on Mendelssohn's life. Another reproduction shows Mendelssohn debating the Christian theologian Lavater, who publicly challenged him to defend the superiority of Judaism to Christianity. Despite his belief in social integration, and his own acceptance in gentile society, Mendelssohn was frequently called upon to serve as "defender of the faith."
There are several reproductions from Mendelssohn's writings, notably his chief philosophical work, *Phaedron*. One panel is devoted to his German translation of the Pentateuch, printed in Hebrew letters. It was Mendelssohn's intention that these translations would help wean the Jews away from their ghetto Yiddish and familiarize them with the language of their milieu, so they could be more easily accepted into German society.

Harry Wall
BECAUSE of his reputation and his access to the royal courts, Mendelssohn was often called upon by various Jewish communities to represent them in their conflicts with the authorities. One print shows Mendelssohn on such a mission, arriving in Potsdam at the court of Frederick the Great, who was an admirer of the Jewish philosopher. In the engraving the diminutive Mendelssohn (he suffered from curvature of the spine) is seen presenting his invitation to the sceptical guards, to whom he jokingly says, "I am a well-known magician."
The last section is a gallery of family portraits, including one of his famous grandson, the composer Felix Mendelssohn. It is interesting to note that only one of his children did not convert to Christianity, suggesting that in his efforts to remove the social and intellectual barriers that restricted German Jewry, Mendelssohn may have unwittingly promoted assimilation.
The exhibition, which will run for about two months, will be inaugurated on December 5 with an evening of lectures devoted to Mendelssohn and his time.

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Parting shot

Ephraim Kishon
appears on TV dressed in shorts and executing playful boxing feints in the best Rocky II style.

IT DID SEEM briefly as if this Locks-plus-Rocky platform might decide the struggle for the leadership of the free world. In despair, the PR boys sent Carter to do the seven-mile jog. But it turned out the president also wasn't too strong jogwise. He was carried off the track halfway through, and put to bed in his White House. The polls dropped by 18 per cent. An emergency meeting was held in Washington, and the crucial decision fell: more sensible and cheaper to do away with election campaigns altogether, and choose the leader of the Western world by a simple hair-count. The counting, they suggested, could be done by an impartial committee, made up of three high court judges and three high society barbers.
President Carter doesn't seem to favour this abridged election system. He's apparently ready to fight Kennedy all the way, little chance though he has against the youthful sportsman whose hair is as dark as that of Marshal Tito, 99.
Jimmy is having a hard time of it. According to Soviet intelligence sources, his advisers have even considered returning the parting to the right for a trial period. Others again believe that Carter — like Samson in his time — may prefer to topple the pillars of the U.S. before his last presidential promoters drop out from the new parting, too.
Translated by Miriam Avad. By arrangement with "Ma'ariv"

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Topsy-turvy



WHEN CORNWALLIS surrendered to Washington at Yorktown in 1781, the British military band commented on the situation by playing *The World Turned Upside Down*. The way things have been going lately, the tune should be due for revival and even a place at the top of the hit parade.

Talking of hit parades, one of the topsy-turvy situations I've been trying to cope with lately has been the gang warfare in Mea She'arim's *yeshivot*. This is diametrically opposed to the image of the gentle, scholarly Hassid which I've cherished all my life and which was perfectly expressed in Woody Allen's story of Reb Yekel of Zans. This saintly talmudist disappeared for three years while on a journey to Vorki, explaining on his return that "three days out of Zans, he was set upon by wild nomads. When they learned he was a Jew, they forced him to alter all their sports jackets and take in their trousers."

Zans seems light-worlds away from Mea She'arim, where it seems that the Idda Harodit's G-d-father has put out a contract on Vito (Vic) Vlahnitzer, a bagman (tallit and tefillin) for the notorious Detroit Filpud Gang, or it may have been the other way round. The Sattmarer Syndicate, seeing an opportunity, then joined forces with the Belzer mob, fanatically loyal "soldiers" of Dutch Belz's "family" (whose territory includes Williamsburg, Flatbush and Sha'arei Hessed) in trying to grab a slice of the lucrative Vlahnitzer rackets. It is no secret that these include running loads of bootlegged kosher kiddush wine across the border, counterfeiting matzo ahmura and even, it is rumoured, a billion-dollar extortion, blackmail and poison-pen racket run by Murder, Ink., a ruthless gang of mezuzah scribes.

Event's have unfolded so swiftly that, it is whispered, the powerful Gerer gang's button-men have "taken to the mattresses" in Beit Israel, an area particularly rich in small workshops specializing in upholstery and bespoke tailoring. One of these hoodlums was recently heard boasting in Geulah, in broad daylight, that "I carried a gun for the Hevra Kadisha."

Law and order seem to have broken down completely and Mea She'arim appears to be reverting to the rough-and-ready ways of the frontier, so vividly described by Shalom Cohen in his seminal *Qinflight at the Oy-vel Corral*.

DEPRESSED by the unexpected turn of events, I was in the mood for Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, only to find that even in a book written more than three centuries ago there is no escaping the present; Begin's cabinet changes and the current economic and political scene were described by the English divine with marvellous accuracy.

"Today we hear of new Lords and officers created, tomorrow of some great men deposed, and then again of fresh honours conferred: one is let loose, another imprisoned; one purchaseth another's freedom; he thrives, his neighbour turns bankrupt; now plenty, then again dearth and famine..."

Simcha Ehrlich, deposed, has had fresh honours conferred and upon the entrance to the prime minister's office will be lined with rows of deputy prime ministers like those serried ranks of halutzim which surround the doorway of Chertza oahodra. From his new vantage point the former finance

WITH PREJUDICE Alex Berlyne

minister can look back with quiet pride at a term of office distinguished, among other things, by an annual inflation rate of 160 per cent — a development which seems to have taken him completely by surprise months after the long-suffering population at large was only too aware of it.

"What really puzzles me about the new deputy prime minister is this: if ignorance is bliss, why does he always look so miserable?"

KIM HUBBARD once wrote, "If there's any literary ability in a feller, gettin' fired out of a good government job'll bring it out," but of course there is such a thing as overdoing it and now the attorney-general is looking into the publication of a censored part of Yitzhak Rabin's autobiography. Poor old Rabin: Tacitus might have had him in mind when he wrote, "All agreed that he would have been a great ruler, if only he had not ruled."

The legal eagles were being kept busy in other unprofitable (though not to them) and interminable ways. The defence minister has just appointed a committee of lawyers to review the recommendations of the Shamgar Committee on the military judicial system. It would

measuring the specific gravity of liquids. What with one thing and another, I can now add "Yekke" (to my Dictionary of Paronyms, those "Words Turned Upside Down" which are such a feature of this fraudulent age. The term which leads all the rest was supplied by that great vaudeville team, Simcha Ehrlich and Milton Friedman ("Comic Songs and Patter"):

Float (as in float the lira) = Sink.

Literary criticism, too, is an area rich in Doublethink; for instance:

Relevant: Prose style of the Sixties, now largely irrelevant.

Taut: The writer is obviously self-taut.

Sexual Liberation has provided a veritable cornucopia of paronyms, two examples of which will have to suffice:

Adult (as in adult books and movies) = Lewdly juvenile.

In order to be fair, I'm throwing in a multi-tiered one from Journalism:

In-depth = 1. Shallow; but produced by a team of hacks. 2. Too long. 3. The subject was interviewed at the six-foot end of the King David pool.

The phenomenon was first observed, as far as I can recall, when Eichmann tried to persuade a Jerusalem court that the *Totenkopf* SS was really an Ethnic Redeployment Service.

THIS INABILITY to call a spade a spade or even to recognize a bloody shovel is becoming a marked feature of our national life.

The settlers at Eilon Moreh have suggested that the High Court's ruling that they should move from the site does not actually mean that they should move from the site. Over to the left of the canvas, so to speak, we have the *New Outlook* symposium in Washington which, as usual, was "exploring the way to Middle East peace through mutual recognition of Israeli and Palestinian rights to self-determination."

Well, er, no. Not exactly.

Chaim Bermant, who covered the four-day symposium for the *Observer*, reported that by the third day "the air was loud with cries of *mea culpa*, but they came only from the Jews. Nearly every Jewish speaker agreed that recognition of the PLO was necessary and inevitable, but no Arab was ready to denounce the PLO covenant, which is still committed to the dismantling of the Jewish state."

It would appear that, as far as the Palestinian delegates were concerned, mutual is still only the name of an insurance company. Simcha Flapan, the founder of *New Outlook*, which sponsored the event, might do well to ponder the lines in Kipling's *The Naulakha*: *And the end of the flight is a tombstone white, with the name of the late deceased. And the epitaph dreads: 'A fool lies here who tried to hustle the East.'*

The mass confession by Jewish flagellants in Washington doesn't seem to have hustled Arafat any more than his kishin' cousin, Khomeini, has been morally suaded by Jimmy Carter to release the hostages in the U.S. Embassy in Teheran. I've been trying to imagine the scenes inside the compound:

"I'm an American citizen and I demand to see the American consul."

"Shut up. You are the American consul."

However, there is an old, tried and tested way to clear the "students," the mob and even the kebab sellers who, I understand, are doing a roaring trade in front of the Embassy — and it can be carried out swiftly, neatly and without bloodshed. Simply send a troop of boy scouts to Teheran with instructions to fan out among the crowd, rattling collection-boxes for some suitable good cause.

The mob will melt away within minutes.

IN COMPARISON to the irrational behaviour of the Ayatollah and some other world leaders, our own cabinet ministers are models of sobriety, wisdom and moderation. Reading the international news in the daily press, I'm convinced that if the world has turned upside-down we, as yet, have only developed a 45 degree list to starboard and, moreover, it's only the force of gravity which prevents, say, the agriculture minister from floating straight up to heaven.

You only have to take a dekolat what passes for normal among Indian politicians. Prime Minister Morarji Desai, for example, revealed some time before his

death that, instead of the usual *chola hazri*, he was in the habit of drinking his own urine every morning, no doubt imbuing his kidneys with a strong sense of *deja vu*. Unfortunately, I have no information about his consumption of that other Indian favourite, *Beecham Sabhtki gooli* (literally, Master Beecham's balls), but it is a matter of record that Desai banned the importation of Coca-Cola, presumably because Mrs. Gandhi was known to be fond of drinking it with ice-cream.

(Incidentally, an Indian, Mota Singh, was recently elected to the bench in London and will be permitted to wear a turban instead of a judge's bob-wig. The appointment elicited the comment, "Sikh and ye shall be fined.")

Like every other Indian politician, Charan Singh consulted the stars when he was manoeuvring to become Desai's successor, but in next month's general election the stars are looking out for themselves. The film-industry has announced that it will contest all 54 seats and, since about 100 of the candidates will be matinee idols, this probably constitutes the greatest threat to democracy since Ronald Reagan.

AMERICAN POLITICS, Reagans and Murphys included, are as opaque to the outsider as anything in the mysterious East.

How can Teddy Kennedy, a man who cheated in his university examinations, a compulsive womanizer (who has now taken to brushing his hair forwards at the temples like that notorious voluptuary, the Prince Regent), be considered a threat to a born-again Christian like Jimmy Carter? And then there's the little matter of Chappaquidick, where he deserted a girl aide, Mary Jo Kopechne, after driving his car off a bridge, leaving her to drown while he swam to the far shore and pretended nothing had happened.

For some months he has been deciding whether to run for the presidency on the Democratic ticket but the Manchester, New Hampshire, *Union Leader* had no doubts as to the outcome. It ran a cartoon showing Mary Jo saying, "But Teddy, you already ran."

Topping this, when he finally announced his candidacy in a speech he made in Boston, he made a Freudian slip big enough to launch the *Q&A*. "For many months," Teddy told a cheering crowd, "we have been sinking into crisis."

After all, there are other candidates. I've just had a letter from "Ray Rollman the Lion," of Columbia, New Jersey, announcing that he is running for Vice-President on the Democratic ticket and intends to make Israel the 51st state of the Union.

Singing himself "The Great Goat from Yonkers," Ray explains that his background eminently suits him for the role. He is the grandson of the great Sioux warrior, Crazy Horse, and the great-grandson of the great Mic Mec, Algonquian Messenger of the Winds and chief over all the tribes.

"Are we not all cousins," Ray asks, "just a few times removed?"

REVELATIONS about Sir Anthony Blunt, the Keeper of the Queen's Pictures, who turned out to be the perfect bridge partner for Burgess, Maclean and Philby, reached Britain recently. A homosexual traitor in Buckingham Palace?

Only in Cambridge during the

Devil's Decade could Blunt, Burgess and Maclean have all belonged to "an exclusive club of cultural elitists known as the Apostles" and yet have been able to reconcile their aestheticism with working for Stalin.

Donald Maclean's father was, at one time, leader of the Liberal Party — an office which has been much in the news lately, what with Jeremy Thorpe appearing in the dock at the Old Bailey, charged with conspiracy to murder and incitement to murder. Mind you, he got off, but the press greeted his acquittal with un sympathetic cries of "Buggers can't be losers" and "You lucky sod!"

The chairman of his Devonshire constituency, while expressing relief at the verdict, also confessed to a few mental reservations. "Questions remain in people's minds," Charles Vaggers told the *Sunday Express*. "A lot of queer things have been happening lately."

Apart from Thorpe's rather cavalier attitude to hiring hit-men and organizing the party's finances, other matters may have been agitating Mr. Vaggers. The self-styled "Prince George de Chabris" who had been running the National Liberal Club, is now in America and refusing to return to Britain to face a series of charges. These include selling off the club's assets privately and homosexual assaults by the "prince" and others on members of the staff.

This sort of thing seems to be more or less par for the course in the Liberal Party. In 1931, the then Leader, the 7th Earl of Beaumont, was hounded out of society and driven into exile (where he died seven years later) after being denounced as a homosexual by his brother-in-law, the Duke of Westminster. Poor old Beauchamp is believed to be the original of the Marquis of Marchmain in Evelyn Waugh's *Brideshead Revisited*.

Yet 20 years later, admittedly at a time when Jeremy Thorpe was only a back bencher, Jo Grimond, himself an exemplary Leader of the Liberal party, was rash enough to tell a reporter, "Liberals must give up being so excessively respectable. We have got to have some bloody noses in the party."

IF YOU THINK from the foregoing that some of her Majesty's Loyal Opposition are confused about gender, I can assure you that it's nothing compared to what Her Majesty's judges have to say on the subject.

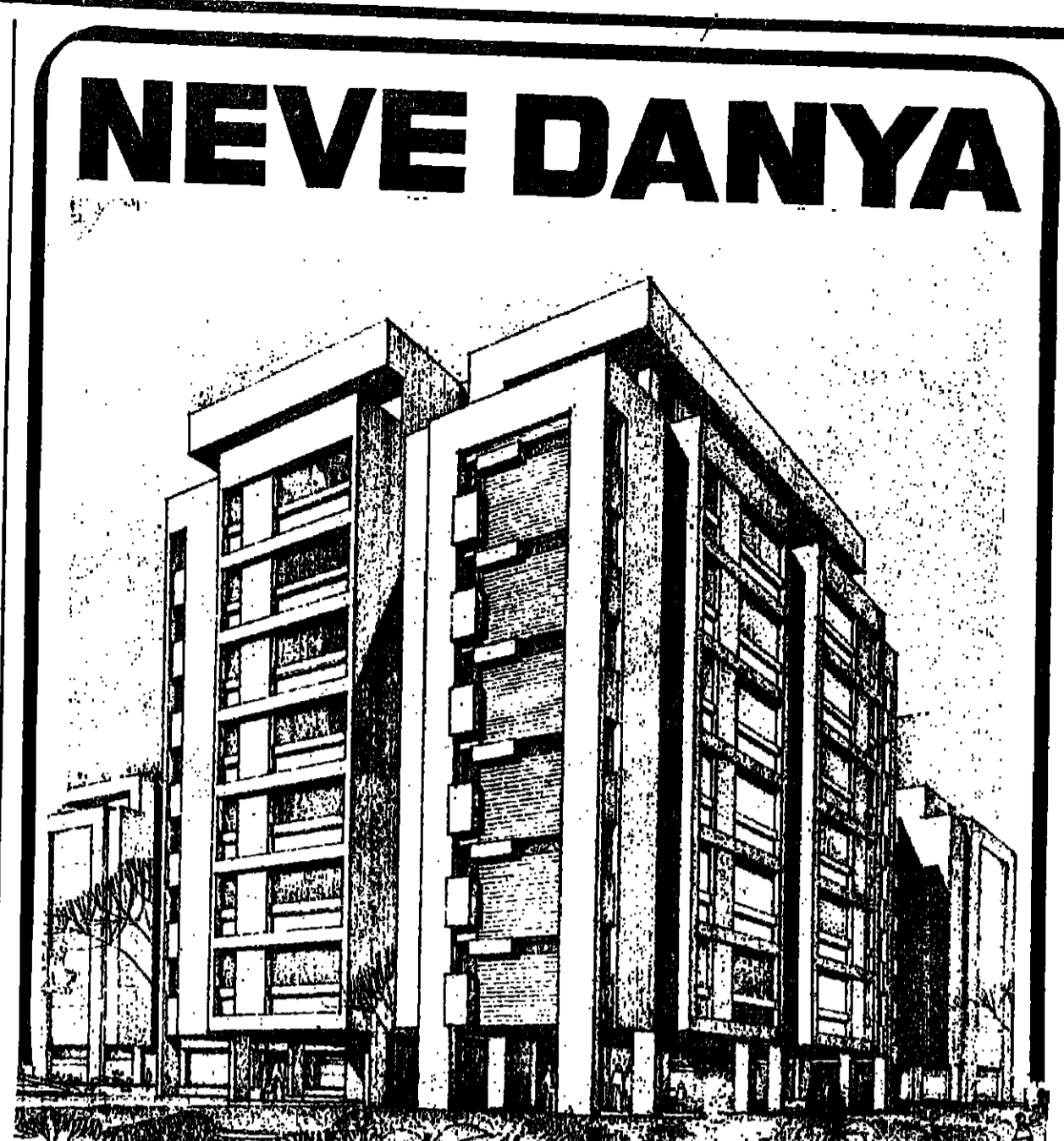
A couple of weeks ago, an industrial court in London ruled that sacking a woman employee because she is expecting a baby does not amount to sex discrimination because there is no male equivalent to a pregnant woman. "When she is pregnant a woman is no longer just a woman," said Mr. Justice Eristow. "She is a woman with child," as the Authorized Version accurately puts it, and there is no masculine equivalent."

Even Margaret Thatcher's position is ambiguous.

On the one hand, she sees herself as a strong prime minister; her Press Secretary, Henry James (sic), recently said that she cannot relax. "If she has an afternoon off she will say, 'But what am I to do with it? I must govern!'"

On the other hand, her husband, Denis Thatcher, is legally responsible for completing the Prime Minister's income tax return. □

(This is the first of two articles)



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AMERICAN MIZRACHI WOMEN

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THERE'S A LIGHT AT THE END OF THE TUNNEL

WITH A flicker of hope that there may be a winter after all, I took a window-shopping stroll down Tel Aviv's pace-setting Rehov Dizengoff. It reminded me of an old science fiction story in which this guy gets his brains scrambled and awakes from surgery to remark, "I smell purple."

Purple, lavender, maroon, magenta, eggplant hues in dresses and blouses and skirts, even belts and umbrellas. O.K. But who, oh who, is buying all those purple shoes? There are Charles Jourdan models from Paris at IL3,990, Bruno Magli's from Italy at IL5,000, elegant locally made ones by Alexander's at a "modest" IL2,900. Eggplant-colour leather boots, made in Italy, sell for IL5,340 at a shop called Surprise, and a sign in its window says you can pay half now, the remainder in three interest-free instalments. Of course, there is less expensive purple footwear too, though not much under IL1,700, not in North Tel Aviv anyway.

Whatever happened to that old practical idea that shoes should be in neutral colours so they can "go" with everything and survive the changing whims of fashion over several seasons? Or that if you felt impelled to have a pair of matching shoes for some special dress, it should be a very cheap pair (almost impossible to find in Israel) to last a few wearings? A defender of the purple-shoe syndrome reminded me that shoes can be dyed another colour next year if purple becomes passé. To which one might retort that last year's shoes could be coloured purple — except that the style might give away their vintage. Women with easy-to-fit sizes might try the inexpensive shoe districts such as Rehov Neve Sha'anun near Tel Aviv's Central Bus Station.

A friend who knows the fashion trade tells me that purple is one of those colours which turns up every six or seven years. In that case, I'm willing to wait for the next time round.

IF YOU'RE the sewing sort, you may have noticed that fabric shop windows have also gone purple. Making a garment at home costs, on the average, one-third of what it would cost ready-made. Those who sew at home will be interested to know that McCall's garment patterns are now available in Israel.

The best-known patterns here are the German brand, Burda; most Israeli women and girls do not even buy the individual Burda patterns in packets, but rely instead on tracing out the design, and size they want from the Burda monthly fashion magazine — a cheaper, if more difficult, way of getting a pattern.

One shop owner with experience in this field expressed doubts that ready-made patterns — McCall's or otherwise — would find a sizable market in Israel because local girls are trained (in various sewing courses) to cope with magazines such as Burda, where you get a whole season's patterns for just under IL100, instead of paying an average of IL100 per packaged pattern.

A different view is obviously held by Brondele Ben-Yosef, the import agent for McCall's. A recent immigrant from the U.S., Ben-Yosef holds a PhD in marketing from the University of Texas, and she shopped around

MARKETING WITH MARTHA

for a marketable product for Israel before coming here with her Israeli husband. She has taught marketing at the University of Illinois and at the Hebrew University.

Ben-Yosef is convinced that Israeli women will take to ready-made McCall's patterns once they realize how much easier they are than tracing out Burda's from the magazine. She is also hoping to attract women who were previously unwilling to sew at home because of a lack of easy-to-use, attractive patterns. While the McCall's patterns are in English, she has inserted a list of basic sewing terms with the Hebrew equivalents in each envelope. There are also illustrations. Measurements are in centimetres and inches.

The entire line of McCall's fall-winter designs for women and children has been imported, and prices range from IL70 to IL140 per pattern. So far, they are available at only a few outlets: the Empisal sewing-machine shop in Kikar Zion, Jerusalem, and the Gizrina fabric shop, Mercat Clal, Jerusalem; at Empisal on Rehov Herzl in Haifa; and at Steimatzy's Rehov Allenby book store in Tel Aviv. Brondele Ben-Yosef can be reached in Jerusalem, 9/4 Ramot, Tel. 02-881472.

Apart from Burda and McCall's patterns, the only others which have been available recently in Israel are the U.S.-brand Simplicity, but under their Continental label style. These have been imported by the Singer sewing-machine agency and sold at its shops. But due to financial difficulties at Singer, and an impending change of ownership, the fall-winter style patterns have not yet been released from customs.

UNTIL RECENTLY, I wasn't aware that India exported much of anything except perhaps curry powder and Madras fabrics. Now it is impossible to walk around Tel Aviv without bumping into boutiques specializing in fashions from India, and someone in Netanya has an agency for sporting goods from India.

The most obviously Indian fashion shop in Tel Aviv is Sitar, which is smack in the heart of Dizengoff, at No. 158, which was a shop called Piccadilly until a couple of months ago. Sitar has branches in Rehovot, at 198 Herzl, and one in Haifa, at 4 Derech HaYam.

The chain is managed by Zemanach Bar-Zakai, a former kibbutznik who spent time wandering around India. Now he and his wife go there on buying trips, where they select the characteristic all-cotton hand-printed Indian fabrics, but made up into Western styles.

This has become big business for India in recent years, though an Englishman of my acquaintance tells me the fad is beginning to wane in London. India's womenfolk, Bar-Zakai tells me, stick to their traditional saris, only a few of which make their way occasionally to the Indian shops here.

The average price of a long-sleeved cotton print dress at Tel

Aviv's various Indian outlets seems to be from IL1,000 to IL1,200 — which is a little cheaper than most of the Israeli mass-produced fall/winter dresses at Ata and the other department stores.

It is difficult, of course, to classify the Indian cotton prints as "winter" dresses, though in the mild coastal climate they could probably pass as such, especially with a warm blouse or a sweater. The purple and maroon hues are strongly in evidence among the Indian collections as well, testimony to the fact that these garments were designed with European fashion trends in mind. Skirts, blouses (mainly from Thailand), quilted jackets, rough wool jackets, and a few slacks are also on sale at Sitar and other Indian-style imports shops.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT regulations on textile imports ensure that only "Grade A" textiles are brought into Israel, and that garments carry laundering instruction tags. Bar-Zakai insists that all his cotton prints are colourfast. Still, I would recommend washing garments by hand and separately at least the first time — something I regularly do with all items of clothing, just to make sure.

Almost directly across the street from Sitar, you can find more Indian clothes at Contact, 183 Dizengoff, and at the new Patchuli in the alleyway at 161 Dizengoff (where the Galerit shop used to be). At both these places I was even more surprised to see "Made in Afghanistan" labels on some of the dresses. What next?

Despite its name, Kimono at 64 Ibn Gvirol also specializes in fashions from India, Thailand and Singapore. Its proprietress is Sara Baruch, who sells her imports to other shops, under the brand label Asia Fashions. Her garments are among the more elegant and better-finished that I have seen from India.

A longer-established shop for Indian imports in Tel Aviv is Maharajah at Kikar HaMedina.

FASHION fads come from the West as well as the East, and male shoppers are not immune to them either. Always a sucker for new signs, I was intrigued by one which reads "Western Boots" outside a shop at 4 HaMe'asim, near Carlebach, in Tel Aviv. It turns out to be a new agency for American-made cowboy boots, in high style and at high prices.

The boots come from a company called Acme in Tennessee, which claims to be the "World's Largest Bootmaker." Its brand names are Acme for the cowboy-style boots, and Dingo for the more elegant boots sold to "older men" — those over 25, as one of the three young partners informed me. Their boots are sold throughout Israel at shops specializing in jeans and sports goods, as well as at shoe shops, at the average price of IL5,000 per pair.

The agency is considering importing Acme cowgirl boots, but says it does not dare, for the present at least, to import the Dan Post men's boots in elephant and crocodile skins, because these would have to sell here for around IL12,000. It seems there are still some prices which even the Israeli consumer will not bear.
Martha Meisels

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